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577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

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1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict 836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict 848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married [291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to [736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community. [591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the 736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried [836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the 736 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo [589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

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462 561 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the [589] men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 178 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and [177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how- [176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [620] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not

589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

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589 [587] he pleases, there is no "must." Widowers, too, usually marry again only out of consideration for their children. If they have no children, or if they can avoid marriage in any way, they are only too glad to do so.

593 [264] The two sexes take their meals together. In general, married life is very peaceful, quarrels and disputes are rare. Nevertheless, I observed a few marital scenes: In Village 17 one evening the loud shouting and screaming of a woman arose, followed by a half hour of loud abusive speeches by the woman. The next evening the husband came to me and asked me for food, because, he said, his wife would not give him anything to eat on account of the previous day's quarrel. /326/ I was unable to discover the reason for the quarrel. In Village 13, Chief Ilk beat his wife because, on a visit to Village 11, she had been stealing. That is what he said; the others, however, said that the wife had greeted him angrily when he returned from Village 11 because he had had something to do with a woman there; it was only then [587] that he beat her. In Village 7, Kurisť already had his third wife. The first had run away from him, the second died, the third and present one was much older than he and very jealous. On the first evening of my stay she observed how he had twice given a girl tobacco, at the latter's request. As a result, a quarrel was said to have broken out at home; she pulled his hair, he beat her. The result was that the wife departed during the night with her children; I then met her again in Village No. 8. The husband was therefore a grass widower, had nothing to eat, and was obliged to move into the bachelor house. On my return journey I met the two reunited; they were living in peace and, smiling in some embarrassment, spoke of the incident.

586 Divorce occurs in the aforementioned case, when the woman becomes too old. The husband then sends her away and usually marries a young girl. Thus, in Village No. 5 the husband sent his old wife to São José to her brother and married a younger one. He kept the children; he was obliged to go on providing the older wife with food supplies. The mother of the wife supervises the separation of the spouses; both parties turn to her if one no

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 768 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their 589 736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[985] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as, unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets, are not required to support themselves, but are provided for by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupations of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the unmarried women, while, like the single men, not required to work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are the common property of all the men, the married as well as the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate; and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question